



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia

Tjia, J.

Citation

Tjia, J. (2007, April 25). *A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11862>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11862>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

8 OTHER VERB-PHRASE OPERATIONS

This chapter is concerned with verbs and verb phrases, as is Chapter 7. While the preceding chapter describes verbal prefixes and the arrangement of arguments in the clause, the present chapter deals with the remaining operations associated with verbs or verb-phrase: verbalization (8.1), verbal compounding (8.2), reduplication (8.3), and tense, aspect, mode (TAM for short), as well as other adverbial modifications (8.4).

8.1 Verbalization

Verbalization derives a verb from a noun root. This process has been described in separate sub-sections in Chapter 7. To put them together, verbalization is accomplished through unmarked derivation (or zero morphology, see 7.1.3.1) and the causative *pe-* (see 7.1.3.1).

Note that a kind of reversed process is also associated with Mualang verbs viz. nominalization that changes verbs into nouns. Nominalization is discussed in section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

8.2 Verbal compounding

The whole discussion pertinent to nominal compounding as described in section 4.4 of chapter 4 is also applicable to verbal compounding, except that the latter expresses events or states. As with nominal compounds, verbal compounds can be grouped as being generic (8.2.1) and specific (8.2.2). Following these two sub-sections, in (8.2.3) the use of verbal compounds will be exemplified.

8.2.1 Generic compounds

As with generic nominal compounds (4.4.1), constituents in a verbal generic compound are strung together to form a single generic meaning. The constituents are verbal roots belonging to similar or related semantic domains. They are semantically combined to form a variety of actions or states occurring in a situation.

- (8-1) *pakay-sumay* (eat-cook) ‘do activities related to cooking and eating’
pakay-ipung (eat-eat) ‘eat without side dishes (eat a simple meal)’
pakay-mpa (eat-chew) ‘eat (around), simply eat whatever is served’
tipah-biah (reject.by.pushing.aside-wave.aside) ‘reject totally and rudely by hitting aside’
beri'-jua (give-give) ‘give generously’

rantak-irit (draw-draw) ‘draw and draw’
beli-belany’a (buy-do.shopping) ‘buy things’
tampar-terejang (slap-run.into) ‘hit and beat’
sipak-ten’ang (kick-kick.out) ‘kick out (at) intensely with all kinds of kicking’
pulay-balik (come.home-return) ‘go back and forth’
amis-lengis (finished-thoroughly.clean/cleared) ‘finished completely’
rung’u’-pedih (sick-sick/sad) ‘seriously sick’
pangkap-berap (hug-embrace) ‘embrace and hug’
sium-lulum (kiss-kiss) ‘kiss and kiss’

The members of these compounds are semantically closely related. In some cases the whole compound has become frozen (both constituents being precatatorial; examples 8-2a), whereas in other cases (only) one of the members is never used by itself but only as a constituent of a compound (examples 8-2b):

- (8-2) a. *peluntang-pelanting* ‘helter-skelter’
kun’ang-katang ‘go back and forth’
kulang-kalik ‘go back and forth’
- b. *bolak-balik* (precatatorial-return) ‘go back and forth’
getar-ganyar (tremble-precatatorial) ‘tremendously tremble’
putih-belanyi (white-precatatorial) ‘very white’
pamar-piar (separated-precatatorial) ‘scattered around, dispersed’
mati-lesi (die-precatatorial) ‘die (away)’
barah-buruh (precatatorial-hurried) ‘be in a big hurry’¹
bereta-berama (together-precatatorial) ‘together’
pelintang-putang (lie.across-precatatorial) ‘be in disarray’
pabit-parit (involve-precatatorial) ‘involve/drag one another into’
mutah-jurah (vomit-precatatorial) ‘vomit excessively’

8.2.2 Specific compounds

As with some of the nominal compounds (see 4.4.2 of Chapter 4), verb phrases containing a verb and usually a noun, may become frozen lexically acquiring a specific meaning, e.g.:

- (8-3) *pinta’-diri* ‘ask-self’ ‘ask permission to leave’
un’ur-diri (withdraw-self) ‘resign’
any’ung-ramu (escort-things) ‘(ceremonially) escort brideprice’
mati-pungkak (die-young(?)) ‘die at a young age’

¹ The form *buruh-arrah* also occurs with the same meaning.

kibaw-manuk (wave-chicken) ‘wave at a chicken (in a rite)’
limpang-umung (switch.direction-talk) ‘by the way’
pan’i’-nemiak (bathe-child) ‘bathe a child ritually’
tunsun-purih (arrange-descendant) ‘track down the history of
 descendants’
mayin-alu (play-pestle) ‘play k.o. traditional game’
rari-diri (run-self) ‘run away’
berani-mati (brave-die) ‘be ready to take a risk’

8.2.3 Use of verbal compounds with and without voice prefixes

Like verbal roots, compounds from verb roots appear in clauses with different voice prefixes, depending on their meaning. As attested in the data, those with intransitive meaning are zero marked (8-4 and 8-5) or prefixed with the middle *te-* (8-6), while those with transitive meaning can be used with prefixes of the active *N-* (8-7 and 8-8), the passive *da-* (8-9), the inverse (8-9), and the antipassive *ba-* (8-10):

- (8-4) *Ia ba-guay peluntang-pelanting.*
 3s ANPAS-run helter-skelter
 ‘He ran helter-skelter.’
- (8-5) *Malam, sida’ tin’uk-ngantuk.*
 night 3p sleep-feel.sleepy
 ‘At night they all had a sleep (i.e. felt sleepy, and then slept).’
- (8-6) ... *Putung Kempat te-puntang-panting*
 P K MID-precategorial-do.with.great.effort

anyut
 swept.away
 ‘... Putung Kempat was hit here and there being swept away’ (by
 an eddy of water)
- (8-7) *Ditu’ ku N-pakay nyamay, din anak-bini ku*
 here 1s ACT-eat comfortable there.(far) child-wife 1s

N-pakay-N-ipung.
 ACT-eat-ACT-eat.without.sidedishes
 ‘Here I have been eating well, overthere my wife and child eat plain
 rice (a very simple meal).’
- (8-8) *Udah ia’, sida’ N-pinta’ diri’ pulay.*
 already that’ 3p ACT-ask self go.home
 ‘After that they asked permission to leave.’

- (8-9) *Nti' aday ti taw' da-beri'-jua' barang ka ayung*
 if exist REL can PASS-give-give thing to relatives
nya', aw', kita beri'-jua'!
 that well Ip.incl. give-give
 'If there are things (e.g. food, clothes) that could be given away to relatives, then, we give them!'
- (8-10) *Ba-sabak dih sida' menyadi', ba-sium – ba-lulum,*
 ANPAS-cry dih 3p siblings ANPAS-kiss–ANPAS-kiss
ba-pangkap – ba-berap.
 ANPAS-hug–ANPAS-embrace
 'Those siblings then cried, gave big kisses and hugs to one another.'

In many cases the verbal components of the generic compound have both the same prefix, as in (8-7) and (8-10). However, the compound stem can also take only one prefix, as in (8-6) and the first clause of (8-9), in which the prefix is attached to the first element. This is probably due to the elements being very tightly integrated semantically and structurally.

Verbal compounds may also be formed from denominal verbs, prefixed with the antipassive *ba-* or the active *N-* (8-11a) and from a nominal compounds (8-11b) through prefixation with *ba-*:

- (8-11) a. *N-keparat–N-bansat* '(ACT-heathen–ACT-scoundrel) 'scold (somebody)
ba-laya'–ba-tengi' (ANPAS-quarrel–ANPAS-dispute) 'have disputes'
bar-anak–ba-buah (ANPAS-child–ANPAS-fruit) 'have descendants'
ba-uti'–ba-guraw (ANPAS-disturb–ANPAS-tease) 'tease around'
ba-padi–ba-beras (ANPAS-paddy–ANPAS-uncooked.rice) 'own or harvest rice abundantly'
ba-babi–ba-manuk (ANPAS-pig–ANPAS-chicken) 'own or raise lots of stocks'
- b. *ba-laki–bini* (ANPAS-husband–wife) 'get married; be husband and wife'
ba-rumah–tang'a' (ANPAS-house–ladder) 'have a house or household'

In verbs derived from nominal compounds (examples 8-11b) the nouns had a tighter semantic integration prior to prefixation. In compounds formed from prefixed nouns (examples 8-12b, 8-13b), however, each prefixed noun contributes separately to the meaning of the compound. Compare the following clause pairs:

- (8-12) a. *Udah ia', sida' tay ka' ba-laki-bini*
 already that 3p REL FUT ANPAS-husband-wife
 (= *ba- + laki-bini*)
 'After that, they who were going to get married'
- b. *Sida' tay ba-laki-ba-bini* (= *ba-laki + ba-bini*)
 3p REL ANPAS-husband-ANPAS-wife
 'Those who are already married' Or also:
 'Those who have a husband and who have a wife'
- (8-13) a. *Sida' ia' bar-anak – buah.* (= *bar- + anak-buah*)
 3p that ANPAS-child-fruit
 'They have helpers.'
- b. *Anti' mati, sida' nsia naday bar-anak –*
 if die 3p human NEG ANPAS-child-
ba-buah. (= *bar-anak + ba-buah*)
 ANPAS-fruit
 'If they are dead, they, the human beings, won't have
 descendants (anymore).'

Some compounds with the (b) pattern of (8-12) and (8-13) seem to have become frozen lexically, for example, *bereta-berama* (together-precategorial) 'together', in which the *ba-* syllables are reduced forms of former *ba-* prefixes.

In sum, verbal compounds occur in the following structural patterns (each followed by an example):

- a) zero marked or [verbal compound], e.g. *kun'ang-katang* 'go back and forth';
- b) Prefix-[verbal compound], e.g. *N-pinta' diri'* (ACT-ask-self) 'ask permission to leave';
- c) [Prefix-verb]-[Prefix-verb], e.g. *N-pakay-N-sumay* (ACT-eat-ACT-cook) 'cook and have a meal'
- d) Prefix-[nominal compound], e.g. *ba-laki-bini* (ANPAS-husband-wife) 'get married';
- e) [Prefix-noun]-[Prefix-noun], e.g. *bar-anak-ba-buah* (ANPAS-child-ANPAS-fruit) 'have descendants'.

Structurally the generic verbal compounds may resemble verb sequences and serial verb constructions (see Chapter 10). Verbal compounds mainly exhibit highly semantic – hence structural – integrity between their constituents, and therefore their members have to be closely related semantically. In a verb sequence, there is a pause between the verbs, which signals that the activities are carried out separately. Compare the sequence of verbs in (8-14) below with the compound in (8-5) above:

- (8-14) *Sida' ngantuk, tin'uk.*
 3p feel.sleepy sleep
 'They felt sleepy and slept (then went to sleep).'

(8-14) differs from (8-5) in that in the latter case the whole process or situation related to being sleepy, going to sleep until falling asleep is wrapped semantically into one compound form. Note also that in (8-14) the order of the verbs iconically reflects the order of the events referred to, which is not necessarily the case in compounds.

Verbal compounds differ from serial verbs in that the latter are multi-clausal structurally, and semantically one of their constituent members modifies the other in some ways, hence their constituent members vary and belong to different semantic fields. Verbal compounds, on the other hand, are mono-clausal and semantically they refer to one single activity or state.

However, some constituents that frequently occur in compounds also appear in verb sequence. Such sequences occur with words that are not precatatorial. The resultant parallelisms are often found in ritual texts, e.g. as in (8-16) and (8-17). This might suggest a historical multi-clausal source of verbal compounding (cf. the regular multi-clausal sentence in (8-15)).

- (8-15) *Nema N-suruh balang mati tih, nyaw*
 therefore ACT-cause fail dead *tih* already
- da-tipah aba' da-biah ay' inum*
 PASS-push.aside and PASS-wave.aside water drink
 'Because (what) caused (them) not to die was that the drinking water was hit aside (and fell)'
- (8-16) *Tu' mah kami N-kibaw kami N-kitaw, kami*
 this *mah* 1p.excl. ACT-wave 1p.excl ACT-wave 1p.excl
- N-tipah kami N-biah...*
 ACT-push.aside 1p.excl. ACT-wave.aside
 'Here we're doing the offerings (by all kinds of waving activities, usually with a kind of leaf).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:30))
- (8-17) *...da-pampas juata jawa' isa' mis,*
 PASS-reward god k.o.plant in.order.that finished
- isa' cawis, isa' lengis.*
 in.order.that finished in.order.that cleared
 '... (Whoever hinders) will be rewarded (i.e. punished) until utterly and completely wiped out (by the god).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:54))

8.3 Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication is more variegated than nominal reduplication (see 4.3 of Chapter 4) both structurally and semantically. Basically verbal reduplication is a grammatical strategy used to code the same event as indicated by the non-reduplicated verb (action or state) but repeatedly or continuously for a particular period of time.² Structurally the verb base coding the event is reduplicated in several ways, signaling the degree of semantic integrity of the repetitive or durative event. Structurally the reduplication may be regarded as morphological and syntactic; both will be described below in 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 respectively.

8.3.1 Morphological reduplication

Verbal morphological reduplication shows a highly semantic integrity of the same action or state occurring repetitively during a particular period of time. The repetitions are not conceived of as separate situations characterized by the same event (see syntactic reduplication below), but rather as a single event. Morphological reduplication vs. syntactic reduplication may be compared to verbal compounding vs. serial verbs or verb sequences (cf. 8.2. above). For example, consider (8-18):

- (8-18) a. *Kacung N-lompat.* (= non-repetitive action)
 frog ACT-jump
 ‘The frog jumped.’
- b. *Kacung N-lompat-lompat.* (= morphological reduplication)
 frog ACT-jump-RED
 ‘The frog jumped around.’
- c. *Kacung N-lompat, N-lompat (sampay jauh).*
 frog ACT-jump ACT-jump until far
 (= syntactic reduplication)
 ‘The frog jumped, and jumped (until it was far away).’

In (8-18a) the action of jumping took place one time (or is referred to as an invariant habit); in (b) it took place many times but as a whole the repetitions are regarded as expressing a single complex movement, e.g. up and down aimlessly. In (c), each verb describes a separate event, the same as in the first interpretation of (a). Morphological reduplication is a derivational process which as such may result in some unexpected changes in meaning and word class, as will be described further below.

Formally, there are several patterns of morphological reduplication:

² Some words are characterized by “lexical repetition”, i.e. they look like reduplicated forms, but lack a non-reduplicated base. Examples are: *silu-silu* ‘quiet’ (cf. *silu* ‘nail’), *mang-mang*, usually used in the expression *naday mang-mang* ‘suddenly’. By definition such words are not considered the product of a synchronic process of morphological reduplication.

1) Full reduplication of the root without further affixation, e.g.:

lubah-lubah (slow.and.quiet-RED) ‘slowly and quietly’
mit-mit (small-RED) ‘in small sizes/amounts/pieces’
sigat-sigat (quick-RED) ‘quickly’
sikit-sikit (little-RED) ‘little by little’
tuay-tuay (old-RED) ‘moderately old’
idup-idup (live-RED) ‘alive’

If the root is prefixed for voice with a syllabic prefix, the reduplication still applies to the whole root, e.g.:

ba-guay-guay (ANPAS-run-RED) ‘run (continuously), run around’
ba-pin’ah-pin’ah (ANPAS-move-RED) ‘move (around) from one place to another’
da-kayuh-kayuh (PASS-paddle-RED) ‘be paddled (continuously)’
da-tiki’-tiki’ (PASS-climb-RED) ‘be climbed (continuously)’
te-bagi-bagi (MID-divide-RED) ‘get divided up’
te-tucuk-tucuk (MID-stab-RED) ‘get stabbed repeatedly’
N-lompat-lompat (=ngelompat-lompat) (ACT-jump-RED) ‘jump around/repeatedly’
N-labuh-labuh (=ngelabuh-labuh) (ACT-drop-RED) ‘drop repeatedly’
N-rusak-rusak (ngerusak-rusak) (ACT-broken-RED) ‘break/damage repeatedly’

If the prefix is non-syllabic (allomorphs of *N-* with roots which do not begin with *l* or *r*), the whole prefixed word is reduplicated:

N-ili’-N-ili’ (ngili’-ngili’) (ACT-downstream-RED) ‘continuously go downstreams’
N-bunuh-N-bunuh (munuh-munuh) (ACT-kill-RED) ‘kill repeatedly’
N-kampur-N-kampur (ngampur-ngampur) (ACT-chat-RED) ‘chat repeatedly/on and on’
N-pakay-N-pakay (makay-makay) (ACT-eat-RED) ‘have a meal (with various ingredients/dishes and relatively long)’

However, in practice the reduplication of words can be limited in length phonologically. On the average more than four syllables in total may be considered too long and not economical, and so cases of phonological truncation are also heard, notably in rapid speech, e.g. *ba-terudi-terudi* → *baterudi-rudi* (ANPAS-chase.after-RED) ‘follow/compete with one another’, *ba-keramak-ramak* (ANPAS-claw-RED) ‘claw (each other) on and on’, *ba-macam-macam* → *bamamacam* (ANPAS-kind-RED) ‘be of many kinds, various’.

Full reduplication is common in the language. Semantically, some additional meanings may arise depending on the verb type. Reduplication with transitive and dynamic intransitive verbs normally does not change the lexical meaning of the base. In (8-19) and (8-20) the reduplicated form indicates duration of the activity. In

the case of transitive verbs reduplication may also imply plurality of the patient (8-21):

- (8-19) *N-inaw–N-inaw apa, m'ih?*
 ACT-look.for-RED what 2s.masc
 'What have you been looking for (since some time ago)?'
- (8-20) *Miak ia' ba-sabak–sabak.*
 child that ANPAS-cry-RED
 'The child keeps crying.'
- (8-21) *Babas da-tebas-tebas sampay luah.*
 forest PASS-cut-RED until large
 'A wide area of forest is cleared (by cutting grass and bushes/trees).'

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs may be used predicatively (8-22 – 8-24) and attributively (8-25 – 8-27). In such usages, the reduplicated forms express that the state indicated by the verbal root is on the average the case (with the implication that the noun of which it is said to be the case is a mass noun, as in (8-22), or has to be interpreted as plural as in (8-25 and 8-26), or is true to a relative extent (as in (8-23, 8-24 and 8-27)).

- (8-22) *Padi nyaw kuning-kuning.*
 rice already yellow-RED
 'The rice has all become yellow.'
- (8-23) *Ku baik-baik ja'.*
 1s good-RED ja'
 'I am just fine.'
- (8-24) *Urang nya' mit-mit.*
 person that small-RED
 'That person is small (i.e. on the average he has a small and short body).'
- (8-25) *kayu mit-mit*
 wood small-RED
 'wood in small pieces'
- (8-26) *urang tuay-tuay*
 person old-RED
 'on the average old people'

- (8-27) *urang baik-baik*
 person good-RED
 ‘on the average good person (of behaviour)’

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs are also used with another verb, in which case they function adverbially expressing various manners with intensifying meaning. The event coded in the verb root itself implies a repetitive or durative action or state. As adverbs, their position in the clause is relatively flexible. Some examples:

- sigat-sigat* ‘very fast (as fast as one could be)’
lubah-lubah ‘very slowly and quietly (as much as one could be)’
baik-baik ‘very carefully (as careful as one could be)’
mimit-mimit ‘little by little’
jawuh-jawuh ‘very far (as far as one could be)’
amat-amat ‘really’
mati-mati ‘with extremely great effort’
idup-idup ‘alive’
- (8-28) *Piara-idup baik-baik!*
 take.care.of-live good-RED
 ‘Cultivate it and grow it carefully!’
- (8-29) *Am’i’ mimit-mimit!*
 take little-RED
 ‘Take little by little’
- (8-30) *Lubah-lubah ia turun.*
 slow.and.quiet-RED 3s descend
 ‘Slowly and quietly he came down.’
- (8-31) *Ia mati-mati N-tam’ak padi.*
 3s die-RED ACT-plant rice
 ‘He worked very hard planting the rice.’

2) Reciprocal reduplication. This reduplication applies only to *ba*-verbs, with the following pattern: *root-ba-root*. It denotes that the action is repeatedly carried out one against or after another, e.g.:

- balas-ba-balas (den’am)* (pay.back-ANPAS-RED) (revenge) ‘take revenge on one another’
bunuh-ba-bunuh (kill-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in killing each other’
bantu-ba-bantu (help-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in helping each other’
tim’ak-ba-tim’ak (shoot-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in shooting each other’
tugal-ba-tugal (dibble-ba-RED) ‘be engaged in making holes for seeds one after another’

sawut–ba-sawut (reply–ANPAS–RED) ‘be engaged in replying to each other’

As seen in the following examples, the subject of the clause is always plural:

(8-32) *Melia’ ah, sida’ balas–ba-balas den’am.*
 in.old.times ah 3p repay-ANPAS–RED revenge
 ‘In the old times they took revenge on one another.’

(8-33) *Sida’ ia’ kayuh–ba-kayuh.*
 3p that paddle-ANPAS–RED
 ‘They paddled (the proa) one after another.’

(8-34) *Burung sawut–ba-sawut.*
 bird reply-ANPAS–RED
 ‘Birds are replying to one another.’

Lexically reciprocal verbs may also be reduplicated “regularly”, e.g. *ba-bunuh–bunuh* ‘kill each other’, *ba-tulung–tulung* ‘help each other’. However, they differ from the “reciprocal reduplication” in that the regular reduplication does not necessarily yield a reciprocal meaning, thus *babunuh–bunuh* can also mean ‘repeatedly engage in killing activity’.

3) Reduplication with sound changes in the root. In this pattern, the whole root is reduplicated, but with some changes or variations in one or some of its phonemes (mostly vowels). There is no regular phonological pattern of changes that can be reconstructed. Most of such reduplicated forms have been lexicalized or fixed in pairs. Sound changing reduplication expresses a repetitive occurrence of the same event in a variety of ways (sounds, emotions, movements, situations, etc.), e.g.:

tekakak–tekikik ‘laugh continuously with various sounds’
kasak–kusuk ‘be restless with all kinds of busy movements’
bulak–balik ‘be busy with going to and returning from a particular place’
kucar–kacir ‘be scattered around (into all kinds of places or directions)’
kutak–katuk ‘make various sounds of tapping’
licak–lacik ‘very muddy and wet’
kerap–terap ‘fall/get stumbled here and there’

8.3.2 Syntactic reduplication

Syntactic reduplication shows a process of repetition of the same event. Formally there are two kinds of syntactic reduplication:

1) verb *ka* verb: this kind of reduplication conveys continuity, a process of becoming more and more, e.g.:

besay ka besay ‘become bigger and bigger’
panay ka panay ‘become smarter and smarter’
taw’ ka taw’ ‘become more and more knowledgeable’
bayik ka bayik ‘become better and better’
semak ka semak ‘come closer and closer’
ketawa’ ka ketawa’ ‘continue to laugh’
N-sabak ka N-sabak (ACT-cry to ACT-cry) ‘continue to cry’
N-ili’ ka N-ili’ (ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream) ‘continue to go
downstream’
da-salay ka da-salay (PASS-dry.over.fire to PASS-dry.over.fire) ‘continue to
dry over the fire’
da-gulay ka da-gulay (PASS-mix to PASS-mix) ‘continue to mix’

- (8-35) *Miak ia’ besay ka besay.*
child that big to big
‘The child is growing bigger and bigger.’
- (8-36) *Sida’ N-ili’ agi’, N-ili’ agi’*
3p ACT-downstream again ACT-downstream again
- Ketungaw. N-ili’ ka N-ili’,*
K ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream
- N-ili’ ka N-ili’, baru’ datay*
ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream then come
- ka ili’.*
to downstream
‘They went downstream on the Ketungau River again, they went down
the river. They kept going downstream, then they arrived downstream.’
- (8-37) *Nemiak ia’ N-sabak ka N-sabak ka’ angkat.*
child that ACT-cry to ACT-cry want go
‘The child keeps crying wanting to go.’
- (8-38) *Beram ia’ da-salay ka da-salay*
alcohol that PASS-dry.over.fire to PASS-dry.over.fire
- sampay ay’ nya’ mirah.*
until water that red
‘The *beram* is heated more and more until the water turns red.’

2) A verb can also simply be repeated to express a repetition. Each repetition has its own word stress, hence these verbs do not constitute a single phrase. Examples of this can be seen in (8-18c) and the first clause of (8-36).

Finally, a reduplicated form can become lexicalized with a particular meaning, e.g. *kun'ang-kekun'ang* 'go back and forth'.

8.4 Tense, aspect, mode and other adverbial modifications

In this section the primary ways of expressing tense (8.4.1), aspect (8.4.2), mode (8.4.3) and other adverbial expressions (8.4.4) are described.

8.4.1 Tense

So-called "tense" (i.e. "the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time" (Payne 1997:236)) is not expressed grammatically in Mualang. It is simply left unspecified and disambiguated by the context:

- (8-39) *M'ih N-pakay apa?*
 2s.masc ACT-eat what
 (a) 'What did you eat?'
 (b) 'What are you eating?'
 (c) 'What will you eat/are you going to eat?'

A time adverb can be used to explicitly specify the temporal relations involved. Generally time adverbs refer to various situations in the past, present and future, e.g.:

- past: *melia'* 'in the old times', *dulaw* 'formerly, a long time ago', *kemari* 'yesterday', *tadi* 'a while ago', *baru* 'just a while ago';
- present: *tu* 'now' (locationally it means 'this'), *nyaw pitu* 'now, nowadays', *ke tu* 'to the present time' (locationally it means 'to this');
- future: *pagi* 'tomorrow', *ila* 'later', *dudi ari* 'in the coming days'.

- (8-40) *Dulaw tih, ia keran kitu'.*
 formerly *tih* 3s often hither
 'Before, he often came here.'

- (8-41) *Nyaw pitu' rumah panyay nisi' agi'...*
 already like.this house long EXIST.NEG again
 'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore ...'

- (8-42) *Ila' ku kin.*
 later 1s thither.(far)
 'I'll go over there later.'

It is only 'near future' that is expressed in the form of an auxiliary, namely *ka* 'be going to' (see also Chapter 10 on serial verbs):

- (8-43) *Ka' kikay, di'?*
 FUT to.where 2s.fem
 'Where are you going?'

8.4.2 Aspect

Comrie (1981:3) gives a general definition for aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” A similar definition is provided by Payne (1997:238): “aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states.” In Mualang, aspectual meanings are expressed analytically by means of auxiliaries, or they can be deduced from the context. A discussion of aspectual auxiliaries is given here:

a. Perfect aspect: *nyaw*, *udah* ‘already’

Both *nyaw* and *udah* express perfect aspect. In certain contexts they are translatable as ‘already’. In many contexts their meanings overlap and they may be used interchangeably, hence the difference between them is subtle.³ *Udah* (phonologically reduced to *dah*) also has developed into an illocutionary marker (see 9.4 in Chapter 9). In the construction *udah ia* ‘after that’ which functions as a kind of conjunction (see section 10.6.1.4) *udah* cannot be replaced by *nyaw*. As a perfect auxiliary, *udah* emphasizes the accomplishment of an event while it also makes a contrast between the state of affairs “before” and “after”. *Nyaw* does not seem to imply such a change in the state of affairs; it simply refers to something that has happened, e.g.:

- (8-44) *Ia N-peda' urang tuay, buk nyaw putih.*
 3s ACT-see person old hair already white
 ‘He saw (met) an old person, her hair was already grey.’

- (8-45) *Ia N-peda' urang tuay ia' agi', buk udah putih.*
 3s ACT-see person old that again hair already white
 ‘He saw (met) that old person again, her hair had turned grey
 (compared to the last time he saw her).’

In (8-46) the use of *nyaw* again merely presents a statement about what has happened, but *udah* in (8-47) implies the speaker’s deliberate accomplishment of the activity (he wanted to do something and he did it already):

- (8-46) *Antu nyaw N-dinga gu' Apay Aluy.*
 ghost PERF ACT-hear sound father A
 ‘(Beyond Aluy’s father’s expectation) the ghost has heard father of
 Aluy’s father’s voice.’

³ To some extent the similarity between *nyaw* and *udah* may be comparable to Indonesian *telah* and *sudah*. See, for example, Minde and Tjia (2002), for a discussion about the latter and related matter in Ambonese Malay.

- (8-47) *Ku udah N-padah ka ia.*
 1s PERF ACT-say to 3s
 'I have told him.'

b. Progressive aspect: *tengan, benung*.⁴

- (8-48) *Ia tengan N-pakay.*
 3s PROG ACT-eat
 'He is/was eating.'

- (8-49) *Nti' benung kita' ba-laya' ...*
 if PROG 2p ANPAS-quarrel
 'If you were having a quarrel ...'

Tengan is commonly used, whereas *benung* is rare; it is considered as an old word.

c. Durative aspect: *lagi' / agi'* 'still'⁵

- (8-50) *Ia bedaw⁶ angkat. Agi' N-pan'i'.*
 3s not.yet go still ACT-bathe
 He's not going yet. He's still taking a bath.'

d. Completive: *mis* 'finished'

- (8-51.) *Nti' kita' mis ba-kerja,*
 if 2p finished ANPAS-work
 'If you all are finished working,'

Mis is also used as a main verb (see Chapter 10 on serial verbs).

e. Repetitive/semelfactive aspect: *kepa'* 'often'; *keran* 'like to do, often do'; *gah* 'ever, once'; *kadang/kadang-kadang/tekadang* 'sometimes'; *jarang* 'seldom, rarely'

- (8-52) *Urang dah kepa' N-pinta' ia.*
 person PERF often ACT-ask.for 3s
 'People have often courted her.'

- (8-53) *Keran ka Punti?*
 like to P
 'Do you like going/often go to the city of Pontianak?'

⁴ Sometimes the alternant form *tengah* 'middle' was heard instead of *tengan*.

⁵ Note that as an adverb (*l)agi'* means 'again'.

⁶ *Bedaw* is the negation of *nyaw/udah*. See section 9.5 of the next chapter on negation.

- (8-54) *Ku gah ka rumah ia.*
 1s ever to house 3s
 ‘I have ever been to his house.’
- (8-55) *N-tanya’ ka ti in’u’ ia’, kadang-kadang naday*
 ACT-ask to REL female that sometimes NEG
N-sawut.
 ACT-reply
 ‘(We) asked to that female, sometimes she did not reply.’
- (8-56) *Nti’ aday, ulih jarang.*
 if exist but seldom
 ‘If there was, it was however rare.’

The aspectual meaning of the auxiliary *keran* may have developed from its usage as a verb meaning ‘like’, as in (8-57) below. Its iterative meaning may be derived from the sense “like to do something again and again”. Hence, it implies habituality.

- (8-57) *Ia keran N-pakay jimut.*
 3s like eat k.o.snack
 ‘He likes to eat *jimut*.’

Gah ‘ever’ sometimes may be interpreted as ‘several times’. Mualang has special expressions for ‘never’, namely *naday kala’* and *nikala’* ‘never’.⁷

The iterativity of *kepa’* and *keran* differs from the one expressed by reduplication in that in the latter it is only concerned with a repetitive occurrence of a single event at one single time, whereas in the former, a single event is iterated on and on over time and not once at a particular time.

f. Habitual aspect: *biasa* ‘usually’, *nitaw’* ‘habitual inability’

- (8-58) *Nema biasa kita Mualang tu’ ti laki*
 because usually 1p.incl M TOP REL male
N-tugal, ti in’u’ N-benih.
 ACT-dibble REL female ACT-seed
 ‘Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, the men do the dibbling, the women put the seeds in.’
- (8-59) *Sida’ nitaw’ ba-laya’.*
 3p HAB.INAB ANPAS-quarrel
 ‘They don’t get used to having quarrels.’

⁷ The short form *kala’* ‘never’ also exists e.g. *Kala’ ku N-dinga* ‘I’ve never heard of’

A combination of tense-aspect auxiliaries is also attested, as in (8-52) above and in the following examples:

- (8-60) *Ku tu' bedaw sempat pulay. Agi' ka'*
 1s TOP not.yet have.time go.home still FUT

N-getah.

ACT-sticky.sap.of.plants

'As for me, I am not ready to go home yet. I am still going to do animal-trapping with sticky sap.'

- (8-61) *Mataari udah turun. Nyaw ka' malam.*
 sun PERF descend PERF FUT night
 'The sun has set down. It's already going to be night.'

Some aspectual meanings may be conveyed by morphological means. Iterative meaning, as noted in 8.3 above, can be expressed by reduplication. Some verb types are more likely to be associated with a particular aspectual meaning. *Te*-verbs (see 7.2.9 of Chapter 7), for instance, can express inchoative meaning, whereas *ba*-verbs tend to refer to habitual activities, e.g.:

- (8-62) *Ia ba-uma/ ba-kerja dia'.*
 3s ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-work there.(near)
 'He cultivates the rice field/works there.'

However, overall context plays an important role. As the following example shows, once the aspectual (and tense) background has been provided or understood, it is typically omitted or not mentioned in the subsequent discourse:

- (8-63) A: *Ia tangan N-pakay.* B: *Dini ia N-pakay?*
 3s PROG ACT-eat where 3s ACT-eat
 A: 'She is eating.' B: 'Where is she eating?'

8.4.3 Mode

The typology of mode is treated in somewhat different ways in the literature (cf. e.g. Chung and Timberlake 1985, Payne 1997, Givón 2001a).⁸ The present discussion is meant only to provide a basic description of how the so-called category of mode, mood or modality is expressed in Mualang. Therefore, the concept of this category will be applied rather loosely. As mentioned in Payne (1997:244; cf. also Chung and Timberlake 1985:241), "the highest-level distinction in modal operations is

⁸ The term mode is often (but not always) used interchangeably with mood and modality in the literature (Payne 1997:244). Chung and Timberlake (1985) seems to make a distinction between the term mood and mode. The present description does not attempt, however, to make such a distinction.

between realis and irrealis, though like most conceptual distinctions these terms describe a continuum. A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode makes no such assertion whatsoever. Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described.”

In Mualang the category of mode is primarily expressed periphrastically through modal auxiliaries or adverbs. The realis sense is apparent in the past perfective event (determined simply by the context or a temporal adverb; e.g. as in (8-64)) or in the perfect event with the auxiliary *nyaw* or *udah* ‘PERF’, as in (8-46 – 8-47) above.

- (8-64) *Melia’ ah, sida’ balas-ba-balas den’am.*
 in.old.times ah 3p repay-ANPAS-RED revenge
 ‘In the old times they took revenge on one another.’

Grammatically, it is only the prefixes *te-* (irrealis) and *ke-* (inchoative) that can be used to assert some sort of modal meanings (see Chapter 7 for their functions). Negation could be included in this subsection; however, it will be deferred until Chapter 9. Other kinds of irrealis assertions are expressed analytically through auxiliaries, adverbs or extraclausal particles, which will be given below. The following five sub-types can be distinguished:

a. Optative: the particle *kira* ‘wish’; the auxiliaries *arap* ‘hope’, *ka* ‘want’;

- (8-65) *Kira aday urang datay ...*
 wish exist person come
 ‘I wish somebody would come ...’

- (8-66) *Ku arap wan datay kia’ wih.*
 1s hope 2s.hon come thither.(near) wih
 ‘I hope you’ll come there, will you?’

- (8-67) *Ku ka’ aba’ m’ih kin.*
 1s want follow 2s.masc thither.far
 ‘I want to follow you thither.’ (Also: ‘I am going to follow you thither.’)

b. Potential: the auxiliaries *talaha/alah* ‘be able’; *taw* ‘can, be able to, may’; *nitaw* ‘cannot, may not’⁹

- (8-68) *Ku talah N-pupuh sida’.*
 1s be.able ACT-chase 3p
 ‘I was able to chase after them.’

⁹ *Dapat* ‘can, be able to’ was also in use, but I am not sure whether this is native to Mualang or a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian.

(8-69) *Taw' ku N-tiki'?*
 can 1s ACT-climb
 'May I come in?' (lit. 'May I climb (the ladder) up into your house')

(8-70) *Nya' mah, jang, nitaw'!*
 that mah TOA can't/may.not
 'That, you can't/may not (do), boy!'

c. Obligation: the auxiliaries *alah/arus* 'must'; *perlu* 'need'; *nusah* 'needn't'

(8-71) *Urang, nti' ka' ba-kerja ba-uma, alah*
 person if want ANPAS-work ANPAS-rice.field must

N-pinta'.
 ACT-ask.for
 'If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask (you for permission).'

(8-72) *Mayuh ti perlu da-cakap kita.*
 many REL need PASS-talk 1p.incl
 'There are many that need to be discussed by us.'

(8-73) *Nusah di' angkat bah.*
 needn't 2s.fem go bah
 'You really don't need to go.'

d. Probability: the particle *amang* 'think':

(8-74) *Amang ku umur agi' lima-nam tawun.*
 think 1s age still five-six year
 'I think (maybe) her age was still about 5 or 6 years.'

e. Certainty: the adverb *amat* 'true, really':

(8-75) *Amat ku N-padah ka m'ih.*
 true 1s ACT-say to you
 'Indeed I've told you (about that).'

Various facets of modal senses are also found in the use of "illocutionary markers". However, they cover more than merely modal senses or speaker's attitude. These illocutionary markers are discussed separately in Chapter 9 (section 9.4).

8.4.4 Other adverbial modifications

Adverbial modification normally adds meaning to the verb primarily via adverbs, along with several other syntactic constructions. Semantically, adverbial modification can be divided into several subclasses discussed in the next sections.

8.4.4.1 Manner

Adverbial manner is realized in several ways. First, by the use of serial verb constructions (=SVC; see section 10.2 of Chapter 10), in which the second verb, most likely a static intransitive verb, functions as a manner adverb to the first verb. The bold sequences in the following examples illustrate such serial verb constructions:

- (8-76) *Tay nama pulay puang, ngay kami.*
 REL name go.home empty not.want 1p.excl.
 ‘What is called going home empty (i.e. if you turn down our marriage proposal), that’s something we surely don’t want to do.’

- (8-77) *Arus ba-kerja keras=m kita’!*
 must ANPAS-work hard=m 2p
 ‘You all must really work hard!’

Some *ba*-derived verbs with stative meaning may also function adverbially, e.g.:

- (8-78) *Ka’ N-kisah kati cara ba-uma*
 want ACT-story how way ANPAS-rice.field

ba-pin’ah –pin’ah

ANPAS-move-RED

‘(I) want to tell you about how to do “slash and burn cultivation”.’ (lit. ‘I want to tell about how to do rice field work by moving around’ (from one place to another))

- (8-79) *Turun ba-lubah – lubah, ia N-inaw tay*
 descend ANPAS-slow/quiet-RED 3s ACT-search REL
ba-gu’.
 ANPAS-sound
 ‘Descending slowly and quietly, he looked for what had made a sound.’

Se-derived words may also be used adverbially, indicating the way the action of the preceding main verb is enacted (for the numeral prefix *se-*, see 4.1.2.1.1):

- (8-80) *Pukat Bengawan aba' Am'un Menurun idup*
 P B and A M live
se-peN-pakay, se-peN-sumay, se-tin'uk-ngantuk ...
 ONE-NOM-eat ONE-NOM-cook ONE-sleep-feel.sleepy
 'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun shared their lives in very respect.' (lit. 'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun lived being one of eating, one of cooking, one of sleeping-feeling sleepy')

Secondly, some static intransitive verbs are optionally introduced by the preposition *ngaw* 'with', while others require *ngaw* in order to function adverbially. Obviously further research is needed to establish possible regularities, constraints, and/or semantic differences. The following examples in (8-81 – 8-84) reflect the judgment of one of my informants:

- (8-81) *Ia ba-guay (*ngaw) sigat.*
 3s ANPAS-run (with) fast
 'He ran fast.'
- (8-82) *Ku ditu' N-pakay (*ngaw) nyamay.*
 1s here ACT-eat (with) comfortable
 'Here I eat comfortably.'
- (8-83) *Ia angkat ngaw nyamay. (?Ia angkat nyamay)*
 3s go with comfortable
 'He took off happily.'
- (8-84) *Ia kerja (ngaw) baik.*
 3s work (with) good
 'She works well.'

Ngaw in combination with a noun (phrase) can also express manner; in which case *ngaw* is obviously obligatory:

- (8-85) *..., jaku' ia ngaw suara ba-getar.*
 say 3s with voice ANPAS-tremble
 '..., he said with a trembling voice.'
- (8-86) *Ngaw pedih ati urang tuay kita angkat ari*
 with sick heart person old 1p.incl go from
dia'.
 there.near
 'Sadly and angrily our parents went away from there.'

In (8-85 – 8-86) *ngaw* heads a noun phrase, which structurally shows isomorphism with the typical instrumental function of *ngaw* (see section 5.2.1); in fact one may conclude that Mualang does not make a semantic difference between what is interpreted as an expression of manner and an instrumental expression. (See also section 10.2 on SVC).

Thirdly, a prepositional phrase headed by *upa* ‘like’ may also be used adverbially to express manner (see also section 5.2.5):

- (8-87) *Ia turun lawun upa pe-jalay munsang.*
 3s descend slow like NOM-road weasel
 ‘He walked down slowly like the walk of a weasel.’

Fourthly, some reduplicated forms of static intransitive verbs (SIV) may be used adverbially to express manner. At the beginning or end of the clause they have the meaning ‘in a manner as SIV-like as possible’, the difference being a matter of pragmatic presentation. Only between subject and predicate the adverbial meaning is ‘in a SIV manner’:

- (8-88) *Ia ba-guay sigat-sigat.*
 3s ANPAS-run fast-RED
 ‘He ran as quickly as he could.’
- (8-89) *Sida’ ba-jalay lubah-lubah.*
 3p ANPAS-road slow/quiet-RED
 ‘They walked as slowly and quietly as they could.’
- (8-90) *Lubah-lubah sida’ ba-jalay.*
 slow/quiet-RED 3p ANPAS-road
 ‘It was as slowly and quietly as they could that they walked.’
- (8-91) *Sida’ lubah-lubah ba-jalay.*
 3p slow/quiet-RED ANPAS-road
 ‘They slowly and quietly walked.’

Finally, two lexical manner adverbs are noticed for their frequent use, namely *pitu* ‘like this, so’ and *pia* ‘like that, so’, e.g.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Pitu* and *pia* correspond to the prepositional phrases *upa tu* ‘like this’ and *upa ia* ‘like that’, respectively. These periphrastic forms suggest a historical contraction that yielded the lexical manner adverbs. See also Pungak (1976a) for a similar conclusion. The sound *i* in *pitu* could be part of the proto form of *tu*, which may correspond to the proto Malayic form **(i)tu* ‘that’ that is proposed in Adelaar (1992:127, 129).

- (8-92) *Arus N-pulah pia'-pitu'.*
 must ACT-make like.that-like.this
 'You must do such and such.' (lit. 'You must do like that (and) like this.')

8.4.4.2 Instrumental

The instrumental adverbial construction is expressed through the prepositional phrase headed by *ngaw* 'with' and followed by a noun (phrase). This usage has been noted in section 5.2.2 of Chapter 5; in the previous section it was pointed out that structurally similar prepositional phrases function as manner adverbials.

- (8-93) *Nang ba-bunuh ngaw sangkuh.*
 don't ANPAS-kill with spear
 'Don't kill each other with spears.'

8.4.4.3 Location and direction

Locative and directional meanings can be added to the verb via three strategies: a) lexical adverbs, b) prepositional phrases, and c) serial verb constructions. Each of these strategies will be described below.

a) Lexical adverbs

Mualang has the following lexical adverbs: locative: *ditu'* 'at this place (here)', *dia'* 'at that place (there; relatively near)', *din* 'at that place over there (relatively far away)'; directional: *kitu'* 'to this place here (hither)' (also used as a time adverb meaning 'to this day (to the present time)'), *kia'* 'to that place (thither; relatively near)', and *kin* 'to that place over there (thither; relatively far away)'. All of these adverbs seem to be historically complex words involving (proto-forms of) the locative and directional prepositions *da* 'LOC' and *ka* 'to' and of the demonstratives *tu'* 'this' and *ia'* 'that'. As adverbs, they occupy various positions in the clause, as in:

- (8-94) *Ila' ku kin.*
 later 1s thither.far
 'I'll go over there later.'
- (8-95) *Ia din.*
 3s there.far
 'He is over there.'
- (8-96) *Dia' ia N-tung'u'.*
 there.near 3s ACT-wait
 'There she waited.'

Examples (8-94 and 8-95) show that with adverbs a verb meaning ‘go’ and ‘to be LOC’ is implied.

b) Prepositional phrases

Various locative and directional phrases with their heading prepositions have been given in Chapter 5. Horizontally, the stream of a particular river is used as a point of reference against which the location or direction of an entity is established, namely: *ulu* ‘upstream’ and *ili* ‘downstream’, e.g. (see also example (8-36) above):

(8-97) *Antu Gergasi k=ili’-k=ulu, ka ili’*
ghost G to=downstream-to=upstream to downstream

ka ulu N-inaw gu’ kacung
to upstream ACT-look.for voice frog
‘The ghost Gergasi went downstream and upstream back and forth
looking for the voice of the frog’

(8-98) *Dua iku’ ti s-iku’ da ili’.*
two CLASS REL ONE-CLASS LOC downstream
‘Two (frogs) one of them was at the downstream side.’

However, their use has somewhat developed conceptually with *ili*’ being able to refer to a direction heading away from the place of origin and *ulu* heading back to the place of origin, e.g. *ili’ ka Jakarta ari Mualang* ‘head to Jakarta away from the Mualang area’.

Parts of an entity (notably body parts) are used also as specification of a location or direction relative to a certain point of orientation, which may be implied or overtly expressed, e.g. *ataw* ‘upper part, top’ and *baruh* ‘bottom, lower part’, *mua* ‘face, front part’, *belakang* ‘back, back part’, *kiba*’ ‘left(handed)’, *kanan* ‘right(handed)’, etc. These words have to be combined with a locational or directional preposition. For some examples, the reader is referred to section 5.3 of Chapter 5.

c) Serial verb constructions

A general discussion of serial verbs will be given in Chapter 10. One of their functions is to combine the notion of direction with other activities or events. Some motion verbs occupying the second verb position add such meanings to the preceding verb. *Turun* ‘descend’ and *tiki*’ ‘ascend’ usually indicate movement in a vertical direction, whereas verbs like *pulay* ‘go home’, *datay* ‘come’, *rari* ‘run (away)’ imply a horizontal one, e.g.: *rari turun* (run-descend) ‘run down’, *bay’ tiki’/pulay/rari* (bring ascend/go.home/run.away) ‘bring up/back/away’.

8.4.4.4 Other adverbs

Other non-directional or locational adverbs express various notions such as degree, limitation/specification. Some of them are listed in the following examples (in bold face):

- (8-99) *Bayik pin'ah **aja'** kita ari tu' ...*
 good move just 1p.excl from this
 'We'd better just move out from here ...'
- (8-100) *Ia **lampar** gaga.*
 3s too happy
 'She's very happy.'
- (8-101) *Nyaw lama' **gila'**!*
 already long extremely
 'It already takes a very long time!'
- (8-102) ***Haja** precis laki ia.*
 solely exact husband 3s
 'He's all exactly like her husband.'
- (8-103) *Ngapa N-beri' **gulung** mayuh **amat**?*
 why ACT-give excessively many really
 'Why did you give too much?' (or, 'Indeed, you gave too much (of it).')
- (8-104) *M'ih nyaw **dulaw** datay ari ku.*
 2s.masc already earlier come from 1s
 'You came earlier than I did.'
- (8-105) *Ka' da-beri' **ga**'?*
 want PASS-give also
 'Do you want (it) also?' (lit. '(You) want to be given too?')

Some lexical adverbs may modify constituents other than a verb, e.g. a quantifier (8-106), or an object (8-107):

- (8-106) ***Haja** s-igi' – s-igi' ia' buah ntawa'.*
 solely ONE-CLASS-RED that fruit k.o.fruit
 'That *ntawa*' fruit was the only one (on the tree).'
- (8-107) *Ku, ia **aja'** naday mampu N-lawan*
 1s 3s just NEG be.able.to ACT-enemy
 'It is only him that I cannot beat' (others were already beaten)